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Memorandum on Missions

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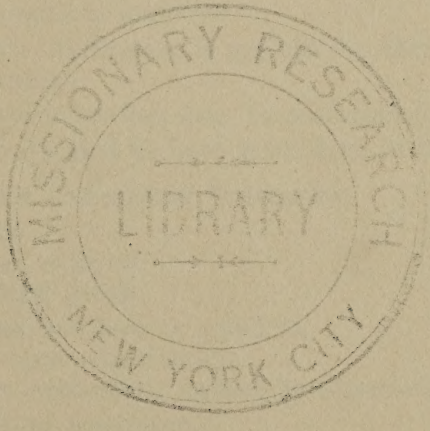

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Memorandum on Missions

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MEMORANDUM ON MISSIONS FOR THE PACIFIC INSTITUTE, JULY, 1927.

Introduction:

The following memorandum deals almost exclusively with the point of view of the Protestant missionary movement as the writer is not sufficiently in touch with the Roman Catholic movement to be able to speak on it with any authority. Further, the detailed references and the general point of view are broadly those which have been gained through experience of the missionary movement in China, although the writer has had some opportunities of studying it in Japan, Korea, India and elsewhere. This memorandum is simply to be regarded as a personal expression and in no sense representing the point of view of the National Christian Council of which the writer happens to be a secretary.

I. The Purpose of the Missionary Movement:

The conception which has given birth to the missionary movement is the conviction that the Christian Gospel contains a revelation of God through the person of Jesus Christ, that this revelation is valuable for all times and for all people, and that it is of importance for the lives of individuals and for human society that this revelation be known and understood and that all that is involved in it should be accepted and made the basis of individual and social life. In the early days of the modern missionary movement stress was placed to a very large extent upon the message of individual salvation and there was a tendency in certain quarters to an over emphasis upon this aspect of the Christian Gospel, leading to the idea that the Christian religion was almost exclusively concerned with the rescue of individuals from evil in this world and the next whatever happened to human society. More recently, while this aspect has not been forgotten, the tendency of the missionary movement has been to emphasize the relation of the individual to the community and the importance of applying the principles of Christianity in the common life so that society may be improved and, to use the Christian terminology, the Kingdom of God may come on earth. This changing emphasis has produced a new orientation on the part of the missionary movement towards public questions. It has been accompanied by an increasing emphasis upon the educational side of the missionary movement and it has led to a fairly general recognition by missionaries that political, social, international and other fields of human endeavor fall rightly within their consideration and activities.

This development in the missionary movement corresponds to a similar change in the Christian Churches in the countries which have sent out missionaries. While it does not affect all sections of the movement in the same way, its influence is felt everywhere, some responding to the change and others reacting against it.

While this change should be noted and recognized as a factor involving the missions in peculiar difficulties at the present time, it must not be assumed that the charges made of missionary work as a direct agent of governments are thereby established. It cannot be too emphatically stated that the missionary movement as a whole does not exist to further political or commercial aims of foreign powers in China or elsewhere. Some of the reasons leading to this view will be examined later, but it is not possible to absolve all missionaries or missions from having been led into such association. The outstanding fact, however, is that the movement as a whole represents a single-hearted desire to pass on to other peoples the benefits of the Christian Gospel. Its educational work is not deliberately designed to put over one cultural point of view upon peoples brought up under another, but rather it desires to contribute to intellectual development and emancipation as an integral part of the Christian Gospel. Its medical work is not an attempt to wean people away by kindness from allegiance to the traditions and ideals of their own past, but rather the natural expression of the Christian spirit of pity and love. Its organization of churches is not an elaborate system for westernizing the East or for creating a number of persons who will be more western than eastern in outlook and loyalty (running-dogs of foreigners), but rather an honest effort to make permanent the fellowship of Christian persons so that it may be more deeply rooted in the lands which have only recently heard the Christian message.

That the missionary movement has come under suspcion recently because of such a supposed connection between political, commercial and missionary purposes is a fact which must be examined into later in this memorandum. The writer is not prepared to acquit the missionary body of all blame in the matter, although much the larger causes may be found elsewhere. But under this section the one point to make clear is that in purpose and in essence there is no such connection; that the missionary movement takes its stand upon a purely altruistic platform; that the funds for its work are contributed by persons whose aim in so doing is to please God and to serve His great family on earth; and that in so far as the missionary may become the instrument of unjustifiable cultural, political, economic advance (or exploitation) this is adventitious and in general a complication of or departure from his main purpose.

II. The Work of Missions:

It is manifestly impossible in such a memorandum as this to give even any adequate summary of missionary operations. The

facts are sufficiently well-known in broad outline and are available in works of reference so far as details are concerned. The stages of missionary work may be indicated as follows:

(a) **Pioneer work,** when the initiation, management and actual work is entirely in the hands of foreigners who, as time goes on, employ suitable agents from the country concerned to help them in their efforts.

(b) **The Coming of the Infant Churches,** when small groups are gathered who have embraced the Christian faith, who need much shepherding by the foreigner and are unwilling or unable to stand alone. In this period there is little selfconsciousness in the Christian group and they are not only content but eager for foreign guidance and help at every point. In this stage educational work begins to assume a somewhat different aspect as being not simply a means of expressing the spirit of the Christian Gospel, but as also a necessary means towards building up the churches and leading them towards self-control and fuller self-expression.

(c) **The Transition from Mission to Church Control,** when the churches have found themselves in greater or less degree and are able to assume increasingly heavy responsibilities in matters of finance, organization and extension. This period may be a very long one, particularly where the second period has been unduly prolonged and where the missions have not prepared the churches for their larger responsibilities. It may also be a very difficult stage if the missions hold their control longer than seems meet to the churches or if the external circumstances introduce an element of strain.

(d) **Full Control by the Church,** when the missionary, so far as he is still at work, is the servant of the Church and accepts his appointment in the same way as pastors and teachers who are native to the country. This is the recognized aim of mission work. The problems of missionary development today are largely those created by the different views as to the methods and the rate at which progress should be made to this desired end. In different sections of the Pacific area mission work will be found in all of the stages referred to. The relation to political issues will vary according to the stage reached, as will be shown later.

It is evident that a movement which aims to produce such profound changes in human life and in society must, from the nature of the case, have far-reaching consequences in every realm of human interest. In the early days Christianity was a disturbing element and it was said of the Christian missionaries that they had "turned the world upside down." It was the effect of Christianity upon social institutions that led to such bitter persecution. Where slavery, polygamy, idol or state-worship, tyranny of every kind, war, the traffic in human beings and other great evils come up for criticism if not for unflinching opposition and where these practices are deeply embedded in the social order, there cannot fail

to be disturbances affecting the whole of society. That Christian missions have produced such effects is obvious, and they may be more open to criticism for having produced them too seldom and too slightly than for having been excessive as "disturbers of the peace." Broadly speaking, Christianity has erred by being acquiescent in relation to existing evils and accepting compromises with the status quo far more often than it has erred by excessive zeal for reforms. In fact the usual criticism of the Christian Church in the East today is that it is not Christian enough, far more often than that its passion for the Christian way of life has been too manifest. Thus the current attacks upon the missionary movement are not mainly those which we might expect by a contemplation of Christian ethics and Church history. This will be made clear in what follows.

III. The Missionary Movement and Inter-Racial Relations:

As has been shown the missionary movement rests upon the assumption that the Christian Gospel is of value—indeed of permanent value—to the whole world. It is not the purpose of this memorandum to argue this point. It will be conceded by most that true Christianity has a value not for one race alone, but for all. As to how that value should be made available for races that have hitherto not received it may be a matter for fair discussion. It is, however, contended that those persons who hold the conviction that Christianity is unique and in some sense essential for the well-being of humanity should not be debarred from expressing that view so long as it be done in ways that do not offend the good sense of the peoples to whom they go. It is generally recognized that there should be freedom for the spreading of ideas which are not actually subversive of human welfare and even in regard to the latter there is a strong conviction that in the main they had better, in a general way, be allowed to kill themselves against the common sense of humanity rather than be suppressed by an enlightened minority.

On this ground the claim of the missionary movement to toleration would seem to be a fair one and it should be evident that a similar claim can be sustained for say Buddhism or Islam. The Christian missionary should not claim what he will not concede to another and the missionary enterprise should be prepared to stand or fall as it meets, on even terms at the bar of humanity, those other systems of thought and modes of living which have claimed or do claim the allegiance of men.

It cannot be denied that missionaries have at times departed from this principle and have claimed or received special privileges. In fact the association of the missionary with the idea of special privileges is one of the chief points of attack at the present moment in China. Before dealing with the question, however, it may be well to raise certain deeper issues.

It is easy to see that persons who are possessed with a strong conviction that the truth which they know and try to follow is of value to others who do not know it may assume an attitude of superiority in dealing with those others. In recent years the sensitiveness of the non-Christian peoples in their contacts with Western nations has undoubtedly increased, and this has led to a feeling among the more educated and sensitive peoples of the East that the missionary movement in essence was an expression of racial superiority. That missionaries have in a number of cases fallen into this false and unchristian attitude can hardly be denied. Nevertheless the Christian message is so deeply rooted in the conception of the personality of Jesus which is so truly that of a humble man between whom and others we find no such barrier, that the danger alluded to has perhaps not been as much felt as might be expected from the nature of the case. In many missionaries the characteristics of their Master have been so shown as to save them from this taint of racial superiority. It must, however, be admitted that the very idea of bringing to a people a message which is felt to be superior to anything which they have received from their own past creates a difficult situation. The modern missionary movement is, generally speaking, alive to the value of many of the traditions, philosophies, and religious conceptions which have moulded the peoples of the East and the attempt to establish the superiority of Christianity by setting a light value upon these may be said to be discredited by all modern missionary leaders. The deeper resentment against missions may fairly be said to arise from an attitude of racial superiority assumed (often quite unconsciously) by individual missionaries. This may be a matter of heredity and upbringing which even the nature of the Christian Gospel has failed to eradicate. But it may also actually be fostered in persons who have imperfectly understood and entered into the spirit of Christ by the very nature of the work in which they are engaged.

Certain assumptions have not infrequently been made by missionaries and the supporters of missions which foster this same attitude and which should be brought out clearly in any consideration of the subject. The following may be specified:

1. **That Western Civilization Is Superior to the Civilization of the East Because It Is Christian:**

It may be fairly said that this assumption until recently was very prevalent in the missionary movement. The products of modern science and of many other influences which have moulded Western civilization were too readily assumed to be evidences of the superiority of Christianity. Until recently it was assumed that modern machinery and inventions were necessarily a boon to any nation. The increase of wealth, the higher standard of living among the people, the better sanitary conditions and the many other aspects of Western civilization were freely quoted as evidences of the value of Christianity. This assumption undoubtedly helped

the Christian missionary at a certain period of his work and gave him a certain prestige. This was true until the assumption began to be challenged and educated men from the East began to doubt the value of many aspects of Western civilization as it was revealed through closer acquaintanceship, especially during the Great War. It may be said that the missionary movement no longer seeks to claim the whole of Western civilization as an evidence of the value of the Christian faith and that what was an asset has in certain respects become a liability.

2. That Religious Toleration Should Be Maintained by Superior Force If Necessary.

This assumption led, among other things, to the so-called "toleration clauses" for missionaries in China, and until the last ten or fifteen years it was generally regarded as a helpful thing that the Christian movement in China had grown up under the protection of these clauses which rested ultimately upon the fact that Western nations had at their disposal stronger military forces than China. Again it may be said that religious toleration secured in this way did give an opportunity for the Christian Church in China to grow up when it might, in the early stages, have been crushed by local opposition. These clauses further made it possible for missionaries to travel and reside in centers not open for foreign residence generally and thus to create centers of Christian activity in which the foreign missionary resided and where foreign capital was invested.

This assumption is challenged from the point of view of those who believe that, while religious toleration is in itself good, it is not good that it should be maintained by coercion, especially if that is exercised by foreign Powers who, in many of their relationships with the nation concerned, have shown themselves far less than disinterested. In regard to this assumption there is a growing feeling among missionaries that the criticism on this second ground is valid, and that the Christian movement loses rather than gains through the kind of support indicated. That is to say, in this particular again, that which was previously regarded by almost all missionaries, and by most Chinese Christians, as an asset is coming to appear to very many as a liability.

3. That People Ought to Be and Would Be Glad to Have Good Done to Them.

It may fairly be said that in the Victorian Era there was scarcely a question in the minds of people as to whether those who seemed to be less fortunate would be or at least ought to be glad to receive the help of those who regarded themselves as more fortunate. A great deal of the philanthrophy of that era seems, in the light of the present attitude, to have been tinged with the spirit of patronage, which may be regarded as the doing of good in a superior way. Very often those who patronize have no conception that the person whom they desire to help may be rather

hindered than helped by that type of assistance and that it may legitimately be resented. It cannot be denied that missionary work was largely carried on upon this assumption. It seemed perfectly obvious to convinced Christians that they had something supremely good to offer and that those to whom they went with their message, with their education, with their medical help, etc., would be the better for receiving such help and would, therefore, at any rate in the long run, be glad to have it. This underlying assumption is today very widely questioned even by those who are confident that the Christian Gospel and outlook on life contain positive goods which peoples who have not received them would be the better for receiving. The resentment on the part of peoples who regard the whole missionary movement as an unjustified assumption of superiority has made itself felt reflexly in the movement as a whole and in many of its leaders. The effort is being made increasingly to come alongside the people to whom the Christian message is presented and rather to give them the opportunity of discovering its value than so to insist upon its value as to awaken a resistance.

IV. The Missionary and Commercial Enterprise:

The missionary movement is frequently regarded as a part of the commercial approach of foreign peoples to China (or other nations). This view is supported by the fact that the trader and the missionary have frequently entered a country at about the same time, the missionary sometimes availing himself of facliities offered to traders (as in the case of Robert Morrison and many others), and the business man in other cases, using an opening made through the action of missionaries. When a foreign nation is little known this confusion between various aspects of its approach is easily accounted for.

A further cause of confusion is the fact that the scale of missionary living is on a much higher level, in the great majority of cases, than that of the mass of the people among whom he works. Large sums of money are expended in medical and educational work. Chinese servants, teachers, catechists, etc., are employed on a large scale. Western capitalism seems to be behind the whole movement. It is felt to be but another expression of "this great rich country" which comes with her resources and her skill to trade with a poorer people.

The identification of missionary and trader matters but little where trade is carried on in a sound way and where there is no element of exploitation or no sense of there being such on the part of the people of the country concerned. Recently, however, great emphasis has been placed upon the idea of exploitation. What precisely this means and how far the charge can be made good against Western peoples trading in the Pacific area it is not for this paper to discuss. But it may be pointed out that traffic in alcohol and opium can scarcely be regarded in any other light, that forced labor and slavery are certainly examples of exploitation on

any showing, and that the employment of persons of a supposed lower civilization or state of culture on terms that could not be offered to others is open to severe criticism. All these aspects of the commercial contact of the white races with others have been or are known. To identify the missionary movement with them is completely to misunderstand it. Missionaries have repeatedly protested against these and similar evils. The anti-opium and anti-alcoholic movements have been largely inspired and promoted by missionaries and their supporters. The same is true of movements against forced labor and slavery. Recently investigation of child labor, efforts to improve labor conditions and other similar services have been inaugurated by missionaries. Not all missionaries have supported such efforts, but it would be fair to say that they would never have commenced, or if started, would soon have languished had it not been for missionary activity. In fact the missionary has time and again been the subject of bitter criticism by the trader because of his supposed or actual influence in limiting profits through attacking what he believes to be illegitimate practices in trade.

The more drastic criticism of the capitalistic system today by various socialistic or communistic movements has carried the discussion of these questions to a further point. Missions, in a certain sense, do rest upon the capitalistic system. Among missionary givers are large capitalists and certain enterprises are well known to owe their existence to gifts from persons of great wealth who have come under criticism for the way in which that wealth was obtained. It is believed by many that the missionary movement is hampered in taking a bold Christian line in regard to the capitalistic system or certain evils connected with it because of the dependence of the enterprise on such givers. It can scarcely be questioned that there is an element of truth in this suggestion, though it would be difficult to maintain it in any large way. Many missionaries are still to be found who will not allow any such connection to hamper their freedom of expression. Some are earnestly seeking for ways whereby they may be more free to deliver their social message, for example, by living more simply or by earing their own living while carrying on missionary work. Such are, however, a small minority. The fundamental critics of the capitalistic system cannot fail to regard the missionary movement as a whole as a dangerous factor or at least as giving them no assistance in their effort to alter the existing social order.

Two smaller items should be referred to here: (1) There are certain missionaries who have started industrial enterprises in connection with the missions (or in rare cases as personal concerns). This is much less frequent round the Pacific Basis than in Africa and India. Such efforts are often felt to be a very valuable part of missionary effort, training hand and eye, fitting people to earn an honest living, developing character through industry, and so forth. In Africa these efforts are a very important factor in the

development of the country and an integral part of mission education. It is almost impossible to make clear to the average person wherein lies the difference between such efforts and ordinary trading and there are some cases where there has been virtually no difference and where the missionary has used these methods for supporting a school, giving scholarships to deserving children (not even in some cases, excluding his own!). It must be frankly admitted that these pieces of work give some real ground for the identification of missions with the commercial enterprise; and it may, in passing, be remarked that the greatest possible care should be exercised to give no just cause for criticism.

(2) There are certain cases where chambers of commerce have supported missionary work and grants have been made by business concerns out of their trading profits rather than by individuals. This plan which has not been at all widely followed is open to the objection that the missionary enterprise is regarded by big business as a means whereby its aims can be furthered and that argument has been used both by missionaries and by business men. At the same time the movement (if it can be so called) is a welcome sign that the altruistic ends of missions are more generally recognized and respected by business men, and it is true that, in the main, the subventions made have been used as the fulfillment of a moral obligation towards the people of the country where the trader works. Many high-minded men have supported this movement without any thought to increasing profits and have been glad to pay, as it were, a tax from the profits of the firm, much as similar gifts are often made to hospitals in the West. Nevertheless the practice needs to be watched.

V. The Missionary and the Cultures of the East:

From the nature of the case the missionary movement raises far-reaching questions affecting the culture and social life of the peoples to whom it comes. Take an institution like polygamy which is closely connected with the family system and the urgent need for the raising up of male descendants in countries where ancestor-worship is practiced. The Christian missionary, generally speaking, has not found it possible to acquiese in this custom and he thus appears as one who is interested in destroying the social system and bringing in something which is distinctive of western culture. It is intensely difficult to divide the religious interest from social and cultural questions; in fact it is not possible in many cases to do so. Nevertheless the missionary has not always been as careful to avoid this confusion as, in the light of events, he may well wish he had been. To him the whole social system he represents and the cultural ideas he has imbibed from childhood are part of one whole. They are the warp, as it were, of which his religion is the woof. It is no wonder that he has carried his culture with him in ways not always essential to the carrying of his religious message.

This cultural and social effect of missions has been studied

in a very thorough way in recent years, especially in Dennis' monumental work* and in many special studies. Missions have expressed this aspect of their work largely through their schools and colleges, and hospitals, and also in specific attack upon social customs which are felt to be degrading or immoral. How far a country is justified in excluding a religious faith which is felt to be subversive of existing social customs is a subject for discussion which arises at this point, and which cannot be dealt with in this memorandum. But granting the right of a country to exclude certain specific teachings (as witness the laws of the United States and other countries in regard to polygamists) it may be urged that, on the whole, the deepest convictions of mankind have agreed, in all countries, that the Christian way of life is, per se, of value to society.

The missionary, however, needs to study the culture and social customs of the country to which he goes in order that he may not challenge or destroy what is not essentially hurtful or contrary to the principles of Christianity. By failing to make such a study the missionary in the past has not infrequently identified his prejudice with his real task, he has waged war against a custom which seems to an unsympathetic mind to be idolatrous or immoral, but which on closer examination may appear to be harmless. Some missionaries feel, for example, that the reverence to Confucius by making three bows is not in any true sense an act of worship, and that the opposition to this practice has been an instance of prejudice and lack of sympathy rather than a genuine expression of Christianity.

Recently in China the whole missionary movement has been attacked as a piece of "cultural exploitation." This phrase seems to mean that westerners have deliberately tried to de-nationalize Chinese, to substitute western for Chinese culture, to bring China in a very subtle way under the spell of Western ideas and thus under Western political influence, and, in short, that China's most precious possessions in her own great past were being insidiously attacked under the name of bringing her good news. This claim cannot, in the writer's opinion, be made good but there is just enough ground for it to cause the missionary to examine his work very carefully to recognize that he has given some ground for the charge, and to see that in his work in the future, he discriminates more carefully between the essence of his faith and its accessories.

The following specific questions should be referred to under this head:

(1) **The Teaching of Chinese Classics in Mission Schools:**

There has not been, generally speaking, as much attention to this subject in mission schools, as on general grounds, would be desirable. This is due in part to the lack of intimate knowledge of the subject by missionaries administering such schools, to the difficulty of securing first-rate teachers within the available subven-

* Christian Missions and Social Progress.

tions, to the methods of teaching which have often been used in classical teaching and to the fact that students in mission schools come largely for English language and modern subjects and do not take the classifical education so seriously. At the same time, a more persistent recognition of the fact that the new China must draw her life-ideals in large part from her own past and that Christianity is a fulfillment rather than a destruction of that past would mean a far deeper determination than has generally been present to overcome the difficulties. Where there is such a determination ways can usually be found.

(2) Registration of Mission Schools:

On general principles most missionaries now agree that mission schools should be registered with the government. Missions have, however, in most cases been slow, and probably too slow, in reaching this conclusion and acting upon it. At the present time the demand for registration is very urgent. It is due to a resentment against the idea of a system of education within China controlled and financed by foreigners (a thought stimulated by the recent Educational Commission, 1922, which, though of great value in many ways, left a fear in the minds of many Chinese), to the rising nationalist movement and the recognition of education as a prime factor in producing national unity and to the prevalent anti-foreign bias which calls for what is termed the "restoration of educational rights."

The difficulties in the way of registration are considerable, including the problem of securing suitable Christian Chinese to manage the schools, the doubt as to whether the requirements will tend to eliminate effective Christian teaching and the fear of party (Kuo Ming Tang) interference and management. By patient effort on both sides it seems likely that these and other difficulties will be met. Some demands made very insistely now may be modified and some missioinary attitudes may be changed. It seems clear that only as the schools register will they be able to make the kind of contribution to China that will be free from the suspicion at any rate of "cultural exploitation." It may well be, however, that some will be justified in going rather slowly in this direction until the mind of China is expressed in a clearer and more nearly final way on some of the issues raised.

(3) The Study of Chinese Culture and Present Day Thinking by Missionaries:

A great advance in this matter has been made in recent years through the establishment of schools of study in China and in England and America, as well as on the continent of Europe. But, in the writer's view, not nearly enough has been done. Far more thorough work along both the lines indicated is needed, not simply for the few missionaries who do special types of work, but for all. The unconscious attitudes must be corrected, a real appreciation of the deeper sides of Chinese life must be seen in the missionary if

he is to avoid the errors referred to above. China is sentitive—perhaps hypersensitive—on this point today. It is for the missionary organizations to see that they send out men and women who are sensitized so that they will take impressions quickly, who are eager to learn as well as to teach and who are on the look-out to avoid giving needless offence.

(4) **The Clearer Differentiation Between the Essential and the Adventitious in the Christian Message:**

It will be obvious that the dangers referred to above will be observed if the missionary sees clearly exactly what it is that he has to give to the East. Study of this point is needed not only in preparation for coming out, but during the whole period of missionary work. Help should be given to younger missionaries and candidates. There may be some who would be better eliminated because they are unable to shake off certain assumptions and attitudes that are not essential to Christian effort.

VI. The Missionary and Political Issues:

The missionary has been regarded not only as partner in the commercial advance of the West and as an insidious enemy of eastern culture and social habits, but also as a part of the political aggression of Europe and America. This view also draws support from certain facts which have, in the writer's view, been given an undue prominence and have indeed helped to create a false impression. Nevertheless, there are grounds for fair criticism and it will be our purpose here to consider these as well as the questions on which misunderstandings exist.

A. The position of the missionary has been secured in certain countries through treaties which have given to the missionary a place of special privilege. As such treaties are under discussion in China in a marked way at the present time, it may be well to concentrate attention on this case. Here again it is impossible in the compass of this memorandum to give a full statement of the case which is admirably dealt with in various public documents and books. The salient point must be enough.

The rights of missionaries are of three kinds:

(a) Those shared by **all foreigners in any country,** such as the right of appeal to his own consul, and such guarantees as are normally given by any civilized country to the citizens of other countries resident in their territory;

(b) The special rights **granted by treaty to citizens of the "Treaty Powers,"** including the right to have any case against him tried by his own country's representative according to its procedure, exemption from taxation, and so forth.

(c) The special rights **granted by treaty to the missionary** as such, which include the right to reside and hold property in cities not open to other foreigners, and the right to propagate his religion.

In regard only to the second and third group is there any dispute and since the second will be dealt with in other ways, the third only need be mentioned here in any detail.

It should be remembered always that these privileges were sought and obtained largely by missionaries, that they are solely for the benefit of missionaries and Chinese Christians, and that the rights have been enjoyed to the full during a considerable period of time. This consideration should at the same time make clear why the missionary movement is involved today in the criticism of the whole structure of the treaties and also absolve the missionary of today from the charge of unjustifiable "interference in politics." The treaties, being under criticism, the missionary who has a special place in them cannot simply stand aside as if the whole matter were no concern of his. If these clauses are not his concern, whose are they! It may further be urged that since missionaries form no small part of the foreign community in China they have as much right as any other foreigners to express their view in regard to the second class of rights, it always being clear that an equal right is granted to other foreign residents. This much needs to be said because the missionary has been severely challenged in regard to this matter in recent discussions. A further point, which may not be as readily conceded, but which seems to the writer equally cogent, is that any true view of religion implies the attempt to moralize all human relationships and where grave moral issues are raised by political arrangements, the forces of religion are culpable if they remain silent.

It scarcely seems necessary to discuss how far it was wise or right in the early days of China's relation to foreign powers for missionaries to claim and receive special privileges either for themselves or for their converts. The Christian conscience has a way of discovering with ever increasing clearness what is involved in the Christian ethic. Today there is a very large body of missionaries and mission supporters who are not only prepared to give up these special privileges, but who are eager to see the whole treaty system altered so that any privileges they may have in the future be only such as are accorded freely by the Chinese people and government. Chinese Christians, broadly speaking, share the general view in the country that the time has come for treaty revision or abrogation. Since the missionary movement in China has largely passed from the first and second into the third stage it becomes the missionary to be very sensitive to this opinion. It means that Chinese Christians generally would rather take certain risks of persecution in the unsettled times and throw themselves on the reasonableness of their fellow countrymen than shelter behind the foreign Powers whose treaties have hitherto been the guarantee of their protection.

It is true that a good many missionaries still believe that the clauses are wise and right and that to disturb the status quo while China is in so unsettled a state is neither safe nor is it the best thing

for China herself. While differing from this opinion the writer wishes to express respect for those who hold it, because he believes it to be based upon a deep love of China and a profound conviction in regard to what is in the interest of the Kingdom of God.

At the same time it is necessary to point out that a very large body of missionary opinion has been voiced in a contrary direction. A full statement of the opinion expressed during the last two years is appended to this memorandum. This will show that an overwhelming majority of expressed opinion from missionary and Christian circles tends in the same direction with certain variations in detail. The National Christian Council of China in October, 1926, after a very careful scrutiny of this material passed the following resolution which may be said fairly to represent the bulk of this opinion:

"RESOLVED: That, while the National Christian Council is not in a position to speak officially for the organizations which have combined to bring it into existence, yet, after studying closely all the recorded actions of these organizations, we, collectively and as individuals, place on record our conviction:

1. That the Christian Church and Christian Missions should preach the Gospel and perform Christian service in China upon the basis of religious liberty freely accorded by the Republic of China, and that all provisions in the treaties with foreign countries for special privileges for the churches or missions should be removed.

2. That the present treaties between China and foreign Powers should be revised on a basis of freedom and equality.

3. That we are glad of the steps already taken towards this end by the Governments concerned and trust that they may persist in their efforts till satisfactory results have been achieved.

4. That whatever were the historical circumstances which led to the present state of affairs, its speedy remedy is now the joint responsibility of Chinese and foreigners and that in this task we need the spirit of persistent forbearance, understanding, and love on both sides.

The Council therefore calls Christians in China of whatever nationality or occupation to a more fearless following of Christ, whatever the cost, and to cooperation in bringing His Spirit into our international relationships."

From the above it will be seen that there has been a decided change in missionary opinion in recent years and that there is now a strong conviction in many quarters that the political status of the missionary should not be one of special privilege in China and that he should be ready to accept such provisions as China may freely accord to him in the prosecution of his peaceful avocation.

More recently the British Government has taken the initiative in regard to this question in the Memorandum handed to the

Chinese Government (North and South) at the end of January, 1927, as follows:

> "His Majesty's Government are prepared to accept the principle that British missionaries should no longer claim the right to purchase land in the interior, that Chinese converts should look to Chinese law and not to the Treaties for protection; and that missionaries' educational and medical institutions will conform to Chinese laws and regulations applying to similar Chinese institution."

B. The relation to treaties is not the only question which arises in this connection. Another ground for identifying the missionary with the political activities of his country has been found in the indemnities which have been sought and secured in respect of missionaries who have lost their lives and mission property that has been destroyed. The assumption of foreign Powers in dealing with China has been that such losses must be made good in kind. It is doubtful whether the Western Powers would be prepared to accept any such claim made upon them by China and indeed the United States in 1881 definitely repudiated any obligation although on one occasion at any rate a grant was made as an act of grace. That foreign Powers make such a claim in China is felt to be a sign of that assumption of superiority now so deeply resented by Chinese. The claim is not made by all missionary societies and some even refuse any indemnity offered either for loss of life or property. There have, however, been enough cases where the claims have been made and the indemnities accepted to cause a conviction that missions generally share the attitude and are virtually a part of the governmental organization of the States from which the missionaries come.

This conviction is all the deeper because of cases where the death of the missionary has been made the pretext for a definite aggressive move as in the seizure of Kiaochow by Germany after the murder of two German missionaries. The exaction of the Boxer Indemnity, and the large amounts accepted by missions in North China on account of their losses at that time is another case in point. Many missionaries today feel that harm was done to the whole movement by the acceptance of such money and the investment of it in splendid buildings which are a constant witness to China of the close relationship between the missionary enterprise and the political activities of governments.

A considerable and probably an increasing, body of missionaries now feel that all indemnities whether for life or property should be refused, more are opposed to making any claim, while not unwilling to accept anything that is offered by Chinese authorities. Others regard the making of a claim as the simple assertion of a human right and the failure to do so as tantamount to acquiescence in evil. The number who would accept any money payment in respect of the death of missionary is probably not large though it is impossible to make any estimate. This question is likely to

arise again in an acute form in view of the considerable property losses incurred during the recent unsettlement. It would be highly desirable if a common policy based on a clear sense of what is right should be accepted by the missions. In seeking to reach any such an agreement Chinese Christian opinion would, of course, be given very great weight.

C. The period of the European War was unfortunate from the point of view of the position of missionaries in China. At that time not a few missionaries went home or stayed at home to enter the fighting forces, to engage as chaplains, Y.M.C.A. workers and officers to the Chinese Labour corps. Many missionaries took a strongly nationalist viewpoint and did not hesitate to express themselves. Some undertook some definite propaganda for their own countries. When the question of China coming into the war was being discussed a good deal of pressure was brought upon her to come in and missionaries were not slow to express an opinion. The treatment accorded to German missions in Hong Kong and other incidents which may have been quite inevitable, all served to deepen the sense of a close relationship between the missionary movement and the political activities of governments. It is not intended to pick out any for criticism—it is simply necessary to record the fact.

D. A similar situation has developed in recent months. Fearing some danger to missionaries in the interior in the event of disturbance at Shanghai or elsewhere, governmental authorities have used the strongest possible pressure short of actual injunctions to get missionaries to withdraw from their stations. It has been almost impossible to resist this pressure and very few have done so. The writer is not prepared to criticise the governments for giving this advice. The fact, however, remains that the general withdrawal of missionaries at a time when the situation did not seem, in many local centers, to call for any such action has again suggested to the Chinese mind that the missionary is simply a part of the state machine and is ready, when the choice has to be made, to accept its advice instead of remaining at the post of duty. The writer believes that most missionaries could not do other than follow this advice, while expressing his keen appreciation of the fact that a few were prepared to face all that was involved in rejecting the advice given—yet it is these latter who have demonstrated to China that there is a spirit in the missionary movement independent of the governments and that missionaries recognize a higher duty than obedience to a secular authority. With the many who felt compelled to leave we can only express sympathy in what was often a position of the most acute pain and distress.

E. The position accorded to Roman Catholic missionaries as being of official status, but refused by Protestants, must also be referred to. This led in times past to a very grave confusion in regard to the issue we are considering. Further, the fact that many Chinese turned to missionaries in law cases for their support

and advice must be remembered as a serious item in the charge against missions. Recently a large number of such cases have been examined and it was found that the vast majority were those of Roman Catholic missionaries. No doubt in many cases such interference was prompted by a real desire to right a wrong, and doubtless many wrongs were righted. But, in the light of events, it is likely that far the largest proportion of missionaries would agree that such action, however high the motive, has done harm rather than good, and that any such interference in the local administration of justice is unwarrantable even when a palpable injustice is being committed.

The missionary movement in its developing life has thus touched upon the political field at many points of which some only are mentioned here. Other aspects have been more prominent in other fields. Recalling the four stages mentioned earlier it may be urged that in the first and second stages there is justification for some kind of political protection if sought and given in the right way. The movement meets with unreasoning prejudice and may at least claim to be given a fair hearing much as Paul claimed his rights as a Roman citizen. The early converts are often few and weak and if they meet with persecution based on mere prejudice and superstition they may, not unnaturally, be ready to avail themselves of special privileges where they can be gained in a legitimate way. Whether the treaties between China and Western Powers can be so regarded is, no doubt, open to question. But, **at the time when these rights were claimed and accepted,** little if any objection was felt on such grounds and the Chinese Christians have until recently been only too glad to avail themselves of the protection secured through the treaties.

In the third stage the time comes when the rights of the Churches established through missionary effort must be increasingly recognized and the initiative begins to pass from the missionary to the Chinese and other nationals. At this point the missionary should recognize the natural desire of the churches to make their own position clear and hence the withdrawal of the missionary's claim to special privilege has become an obvious corollary of his whole aim and method in carrying on the work. This stage in China is being reached or has been reached at the time when national consciousness is deeply stirred in regard to the whole question of the treaties. It is clear that this environment indicates a more definite and rapid break with the past than might have otherwise seemed necessary.

In the fourth stage which is already reached in certain advanced groups, the question of any relation between the missionary and politics could scarcely arise. The Christian Church will act according to the convictions which it holds, and the place of the missionary is simply as a member of that church and not as a separate individual or as belonging to a separate group. He will certainly not wish to claim special privileges and he should be

more than ever careful not to complicate the issue by any action that tends to make of the missionaries a specialized and distinct group of persons. He will still, of course, have to consider his position and his duty as a citizen of the country from which he comes. Some missionaries, realizing this problem as a peculiarly difficult one in the later stages of missionary work, have considered the advisability of changing their nationality. This question is too intricate to be more than alluded to in this memorandum.

VII. Present Tendencies in the Missionary Movement:

A few words may perhaps be added to draw attention to certain tendencies in modern missions which have a distinct bearing on international and inter-racial contacts. It cannot be maintained that these are universal and universally accepted as satisfactory, but it cannot be denied that they are marked tendencies and that a comparison of the movement now with its aspect 50 years ago would fully demonstrate this general line of development.

(a) There is a growing readiness to confess the faults of Western civilization, to admit frankly that it is not fully Christian and to approach the Far East, not simply critical of its civilization, but in the belief that West and East together can discover and work out the Christian ethic for our common life more adequately than either country could do alone.

(b) There is a very strong desire to withdraw as soon as possible from the predominant place in the Christian movement. This is shown by the many schemes which have been adopted or are now under discussion for giving the contral of the Christian movement to Chinese, the missionary accepting his place under direction from the proper Chinese authorities and making his contribution rather as a servant of the Chinese Church than as pioneer, director or administrator. Almost every department of missionary work in China shows marked advances in this matter during the last ten years.

(c) There is a strong movement towards the elimination of special privileges which have been granted to missionaries and to Chinese Christians under the treaties. This does not mean that missionaries and missionary societies would not be glad to continue the work which they are doing in different parts of China, but many believe that it would be better that some of this work should in the meantime be closed rather than that it should rest upon privileges which have been secured through the treaties now criticized.

(d) There is increasing emphasis upon the constructive rather than the destructive elements in the Christian message. Undoubtedly the Christian message does involve the destruction of evils and superstitions. The whole trend of the missionary movement, however, now is to leave the destructive forces to work themselves out, and to emphasize the personality of Jesus Christ and the simple,

essential features of His life and teaching as set forth in the New Testament. This tendency is coupled with a greater readiness to learn from those to whom the Christian message is brought and a much more general recognition of the value of other religious systems. A higher standard of missionary training is being demanded from year to year, although not all missionary societies are moving in this direction.

(e) Greater stress is being laid upon the social and international implications of the Christian Gospel. The missionary movement still bases its work on the conception of an individual change of heart, the introduction of new motives and a fresh dynamic into the spirit of the individual who comes under the Christian influence; but it is much more freely recognized than formerly that it is incumbent upon the Christian Church to study the social problems of the day, to realize the fact that the individual is to a large extent the creature of his environment, and that it is the bounden duty of Christians to study that environment with thoroughness and sympathy and to do their utmost to remold it in accordance with Christian principles. So far as China is concerned, this latter movement seems to correspond to the tendency of Chinese Christians who are not in the main of the introspective or mystical type, but rather tend to judge the Christian faith by its practical results in the common life.

VIII. The Value of Missions in Relation in the Solution of Race Questions:

In the foregoing sections an effort has been made to deal candidly and as fully as space permitted with various aspects of the missionary movement which have come up for criticism as proving a hindrance rather than a help towards improving race contacts in the world of today. While laying emphasis on the central purpose of missions, the writer has not hesitated to face the inherent difficulty of the missionary in fulfilling that purpose nor has he desired to hide or minimize his failure to do so in many cases. Nevertheless he would not be true to his own convictions if the memorandum were to close on the note of defense or merely of explanation. To the writer's mind the missionary movement has, in the main, been a factor making for better understanding and good will and he believes this is more true today than ever in spite of certain matters to which much attention has been turned. This contention is based upon the following grounds.

(a) The missionary movement has put into many lands a multitude of men and women of good will who, whatever their faults, have rendered and are rendering unselfish service of a very high grade and are showing by life even more than by word that racial barriers can be overcome and that there is a basis on which the deepest fellowship can be achieved between persons of varying points of view. These lives are the biggest asset of the missionary movement. When many foreigners are frankly concerned chiefly

with profit making or with securing a political and economic advantage for their country here is this large body of foreigners who in the main put these things on one side and work for pure love to interpret the highest things which the West has to offer to the East.

(b) The actual work done in schools, colleges, hospitals, asylums, churches, etc., has created numberless points of mutual understanding, has broken down prejudices, has produced men and women in the countries concerned who have the international spirit and groups wherein race and nation come to take a relatively smaller place as men work together for a still higher unity—the one family under heaven.

(c) The missionary has, on the whole, acted as a wholesome check upon other aspects of racial contacts inspired by less worthy ideals. Traders who have been guilty of exploitation have been challenged as in the opium traffic and other similar evils. A watchful eye has been kept upon those aspects of the situation which tend to produce friction and not infrequently there have been missionaries who have fearlessly exposed the same.

(d) On the whole the missionary has sought to interpret the East to the West. Unfortunately there have been some who have put the worse elements of eastern life under the limelight and have thus tended to create a false sense of superiority and so vitiate race contacts. But by translation of classical writings and a sympathetic study of the life of other peoples missionaries have also done much to lay a foundation for a better mutual understanding.

(e) The essential message of the Christian missionary is one of reconciliation. Where that message has gripped men it has done its own work. The incomparable figure of Jesus Christ has won the allegiance of many millions in the East and West alike. He is universal however national many of His followers may be. There is something in Christianity which breaks through the failure of individual Christians be they diplomats, traders or missionaries. This something is in essence a healing power to our many discords. It is this which ultimately justifies the missionary movement.